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TODAY and TOMORROW

The Inevitable Fate

THE resignation of General Chennault from the United States Air Command in the China theatre of the Pacific war, is not just an item of personal news. It is politically significant in that it marks the beginning of a change in the American attitude towards the Chungking regime.

That regime, as you may be aware, was regarded by the late Roosevelt's administration as the Government representing the bulk of the Chinese fighting Nippon. Many qualified observers including General Stilwell protested from time to time that the strength, contributed by America to Chungking might be used in civil war against Sino-Communists, but the protest was not heeded, and Stilwell was shifted from China, to placate Chiang Kai-shek.

But now the pendulum of American regard is beginning to swing over from Chungking to Yenan, that is to say, from Kuomintang Government to the Communist Government. It is as a result of this swing-over that General Chennault has had to give up his important post in China, according to the New York Herald-Tribune. Chennault, we are told, was one of those who have stood out for backing the Kuomintang government at Chungking to the neglect of the Communists whose headquarters is Yenan.

The question now naturally arises, what has brought about this change in the American policy in China? The answer as given by the New York Herald-Tribune is interesting. It says that the change is due to an increasing fear in the American political circles that discrimination in favour of the Chungking regime against the Chinese Communists might involve America in dangerous controversy with Russia.

The Americans are today in a rather unenviable plight in China. They, along with the British, rushed to the rescue of the Chungking regime motivated by only one thing—the dream of dominating China economically and politically as soon as the Nipponese are finished. But after lavishing for this purpose their resources, for years on Chiang Kai Shek and his clique, both Uncle Sam and John Bull are now coming to feel that all this help might perhaps lead, not to any profit, but to a clash with Chinese Communists and their powerful patrons, the Soviet Russians.

The anxiety of the Americans not to offend the Soviet Union is all the greater at this moment, because it is steadily dawning on their minds that their war against Nippon is going to prove a vastly more ruinous adventure than they had imagined a few months ago.

Of course, nobody is in a position to foretell what the future has in store in the Pacific. But one thing is certain. The end of the Pacific war will not lead to the hegemony of the Americans in the Far East. Either the indomitable spirit of the Nipponese people or the interference of Russia is going to frustrate Uncle Sam's greedy designs on the Far East. President Truman may change Roosevelt's policy in China, but that will not avert this inevitable fate that is awaiting the United States as well as Britain.

Gandhiji Calm On Simla Breakdown

The failure of the Simla Conference does not seem to have surprised or disturbed Gandhiji in the least, justifying Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's confident declaration that Gandhiji alone among the leaders of the Congress could be depended upon to keep a level head and not to be carried away by extremities of pessimism or optimism. From the very beginning of the Wavell negotiations, Gandhiji showed the utmost clam and mental discipline worthy of a veteran leader.

While Rajagopalachariar and Bulabhai Desai cried themselves hoarse over what they called a golden opportunity for the Congress, while Pandit Nehru and even Maulana Azad emphatically declared that the Simla Conference MUST not fail, Gandhiji smiled his inimitable smile and kept his very different thoughts to himself.

So now after the total failure of the Simla negotiations, Gandhiji is not in the least worried about the so-called impasse that seems to bother other Congress leaders so much. A New Delhi report says that Gandhiji left Delhi for Ranigani on Tuesday. Earlier in the day, Gandhiji paid a visit to the Harijan Colony in Delhi, where he assured workers that he would carry on his constructive programme. Not a word about the complete or partial success or failure of the Simla Conference!

Congressmen Addressed

Addressing a large crowd of Congressmen at the Delhi railway station on his way from Simla to Calcutta, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad declared that the Congress Working Committee had done the right thing at the Simla Conference, according to their faith and conviction. The responsibility for the failure of the Conference, he asserted, lay with the British Government. Maulana Azad further disclosed that as the Simla negotiations had not solved the political deadlock, he was taking up the matter of the release of political prisoners and that he was in correspondence with the Government of India on the subject.

Addressing a public meeting in Lahore, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru stated that the Simla Conference had not tackled the big problems of India, but had only opened a little window through which the Congress could see some way of solving those problems.

Earlier in Simla, according to the New York Times Correspondent Tillman Durdin, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, commenting on the breakdown of the Simla Conference expressed the fear that demoralisation among the people, administrative breakdowns and eventual revolts would result from continued failure to reorganise Government of India on a popular national basis.

Netaji Correctly Assesses Gains & Losses Of Congress Working Committee In Participating In Simla Confab

In his exhaustive review of the Viceroy's offer leading up to the Simla fiasco Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, Head of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, in a radio address to India yesterday correctly and masterfully assesses the gains and losses of the Congress Working Committee in their eagerness to participate in the discussions on the formation of the proposed Executive Council.

The following is the text of Netaji's broadcast:

Sisters and Brothers in India!

Tonight I shall address you again on the lessons of the Simla Conference. The subject is so important and we have so much to learn from this experience for our future guidance, that I do not apologise for referring to it again. As human beings, we are all liable to make mistakes. But only those who learn from their past mistakes and resolve to avoid them in future can progress and prosper in life. It is, therefore, necessary for all Congressmen to put aside feelings of vanity, pride and self-esteem—as well as bias and prejudice—and make an objective and dispassionate study of the recent action of the Congress Working Committee in accepting Lord Wavell's offer and participating in the Simla Conference.

Profitable Study

This study will be successful and profitable, only if Congressmen are liable to study and analyse themselves and their leaders, just as disinterested outsiders would. In my study of the lessons of the Simla Conference, I shall be as frank and honest as possible—otherwise such an attempt will be of no use to anybody. In what I shall hereafter say, in case I hurt the feelings of any of my friends at home, I am asking for his pardon in advance. But in case it is the truth that hurts, then no apology is due from me.

Before entering upon our subject, let us remember the background once again. The background of the Simla Conference was Lord Wavell's offer, which he broadcast over the radio on the 14th of June, 1945. That offer—if I may remind you—consisted of three things. Firstly, a promise of self-government—not independence, mind you—after the end of this war. Secondly, the restoration of popular ministries in the provinces. And thirdly, further Indianisation of the Governor-General's Executive Council. The basis of that offer—or rather, the condition precedent to an acceptance of that offer—was a pledge of whole-hearted participation in Britain's future war in the Far East.

Both Lord Wavell, as well as His Majesty the King of Britain, referred to the motives behind the British Government's offer and to the task for which the co-operation of the Indian people was being asked for. Lord Wavell referred to them in the speech which he broadcast on the 14th June and mentioned three points. Firstly, prosecution of the war against Nippon. Secondly, tackling of the problems of post-war reconstruction in India. And thirdly, preparing for a long-term, or permanent, solution of the Indian problem.

His Majesty the King of Britain referred to Lord Wavell's offer and to the Simla Conference in his speech proroguing the British Parliament on the 15th June, 1945.

What Acceptance Means

The acceptance of Lord Wavell's offer by the Indian National Congress and by other parties meant that they should give their fullest support to the new Executive Council to be formed by Lord Wavell. In order to obtain that support from the parties concerned, Lord Wavell wanted to consult them before deciding on the strength and composition of the new Executive Council. The Simla Conference was, therefore, held on the 25th June and on subsequent days, in order to enable Lord Wavell to consult the parties whose support he was desirous of securing, before he formed his new Executive Council.

It goes without saying that all those who attended the Simla Conference with a view to advising Lord Wavell about the formation of the new Executive Council, accepted unconditionally Lord Wavell's offer in advance. Only in the case of Mr. M. A. Jinnah, his acceptance of Lord Wavell's offer was conditional—because he made it quite clear, in advance, that though he would attend the Simla Conference, he could not commit himself about participating in the new Executive Council, or about advising Lord Wavell as to its formation.

It is necessary to remember, therefore, that when the Congress representatives attended the Simla Conference, they had already committed themselves to unconditional acceptance of Lord Wavell's offer. But in today's talk, I shall not deal with Lord Wavell's offer—as I have already referred to it exhaustively several times during the last four weeks. I shall only repeat that, in my view, the real motive behind Lord Wavell's offer was a twofold one—firstly, to secure India's whole-hearted participation in the coming campaign in the Far East—and secondly, to make India a domestic issue of the British Empire and thereby prevent other friendly powers from espousing the cause of India's independence.

Govt's Future Role

In his opening speech at the Simla Conference on the 25th June, Lord Wavell referred to his offer and to his future role in the administration of India in the following words:—

"It (i.e., his offer) is not a constitutional settlement; it is not a final solution of India's complex problems that is proposed, nor does the plan in any way prejudge or prejudice the final issue; but if it succeeds, I am sure it will pave the way towards a settlement and will bring it nearer.....You must accept my leadership for the present, until there is some agreed change in the constitution. I am responsible to His Majesty's Government for the good government and tranquility of India."

Though the words used by Lord Wavell were carefully chosen, nevertheless, the substance of his speech was, in my view, highly objectionable—and even insulting. It is strange that no adverse comment was made on that speech from any responsible quarter—so far as my information goes.

Friends! I shall now plunge into a consideration of today's topic. It is a good thing that the Congress Working Committee at its last sitting tried to assess the losses and gains resulting from its participation

(Continued on next page)

Inspiring Songs To Be Presented To Netaji At Grand Musical Rally

A Grand Variety Entertainment, sponsored by the Azad Hind Newspapers with the active support of the Hodobu, will be held at 7.30 in the evening at the Dai Toa Gekijo on Saturday, 21st. July, 2605, the occasion being the presentation of two songs "Chalo Delhi" (Delhi-Shingun) and "Conquer with Divine Fire" (Scikayuku) by Mr. Kakinomoto-Shichiro to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose who has kindly consented to grace the occasion.

Inspired by the unbounded devotion of Netaji towards his Motherland, Mr. Kakinomoto-Shichiro, who is a talented musician and the author of several other beautiful songs, desires to dedicate these two songs to the great leader. They will be played by the Syonan Ongaku-Kyokai during the function. Mr. Kakinomoto-Shichiro is at present connected with the Hodobu here.

Besides this there will be a few items consisting of Indian Dances, music etc. This will be followed by a slide show of Netaji's bust and the ceremony of the laying of the foundation stone of the Memorial to the Unknown Azad Hind Warrior and a few of the latest posters.

The evening's programme will be concluded by a show of songs of Greater East Asia in pictures.

Admission to the hall is by tickets only.

American Journal On Chennault's Resignation

Lisbon, July 16 (Domei)—The "New York Herald Tribune," commenting on the resignation of Major-General Claire Chennault as Commander of the United States 14th Air Force in China, today expressed belief that Chennault's resignation was prompted by differences among American authorities over America's policy toward Chungking, according to a New York dispatch.

The influential American journal said that there are many speculations concerning Chennault's resignation such as that his departure was motivated "by disputes over the use of supply lines, his inability to obtain gasoline for planes, controversies over basic policy and by his relegation to an inferior position through the appointment of Stratemeyer."

The "New York Herald Tribune" was inclined, however, to believe that the American air commander's resignation was prompted more by "controversies over basic policy" than other factors.

The fundamental idea followed by Chennault in his efforts in China, the paper said, was to work in close cooperation with the government of Chiang Kai-shek and to do everything possible to strengthen the Generalissimo's army.

Chennault's policy has been in keeping with what America has been doing in China since last year, it said.

The journal indicated, however, that this policy recently has been opposed by American officials who fear that too close American identification with the Generalissimo's army might embroil the United States in a war with Russia in the event Chiang Kai-shek's troops should engage Chinese Communist armies in a civil war.

"It is thus possible that Chennault's difficulties are closely related to differences over basic policy, although this is by no means certain," the "New York Herald Tribune" commented.

Enemy's Wanton Raid Over Shanghai Area

Shanghai, July 18 (Domei)—Approximately 60 enemy Liberators and Mitchell bombers, presumably operating from Okinawa bases, indiscriminately raided Shanghai around 1 p.m. yesterday, July 17, raining explosives from above the clouds on the eastern part of the city as well as the industrial area in the Pootung sector. As a result of the enemy's wanton air attack many casualties were caused among Chinese civilians.

Rejection Of "Sri Lanka Bill Strongly Protested

Lisbon, July 18 (Domei)—The Ceylon State Council today passed by 31 votes to seven the motion protesting against British Colonial Secretary Colonel Oliver Stanley's rejection of the "Sri Lanka" Bill, which demands full self-government for Ceylon and the altering of the name of Ceylon to "Sri Lanka", according to a Colombo message.

The motion declared that "such a rejection is a denial of the right of the people of Ceylon to freedom and to determine their own constitution.

New Agreement Between Soviet Russia & Egypt

Zurich, July 18 (Domei)—Further evidence of growing Soviet influence in the Mediterranean today was reflected in a Cairo dispatch reporting that Russia has secured an agreement with Britain and Egypt for the removal of trade restrictions between Egypt and Russia. The new agreement was announced in the Egyptian Senate by the Egyptian Premier.

Netaji Correctly Assesses Gains & Losses Of Congress Working Committee In Participating In Simla Confab

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in the Simla Conference. Nothing has been given out so far, as to what conclusions were drawn by the Congress Working Committee—but the All India Radio special correspondent said that in the view of some leading Congressmen, the positive gain that has resulted was the cultivation of mutual esteem and friendship between the Viceroy and top-ranking Congress leaders.

Let us now ask ourselves as to what the respective losses and gains have been. Firstly, for the British Government. The British Government has been able to create the impression throughout the world that it made a generous gesture to the Indian people. The British Government has also been able to create an impression in some parts of the world that it is not the British who are standing in the way of India's freedom, but the Indian people themselves.

That the British Government has been able to achieve this moral gain has been due entirely to the fault of the Congress leaders. Firstly, the Congress leaders did not expose the hollowness of Lord Wavell's offer. Secondly, they did not point out that a national cabinet could not possibly be formed on a religious and sectarian basis. Thirdly, they went out of their way to praise Lord Wavell's sincerity. And lastly, they declared their unconditional acceptance of Lord Wavell's offer.

Congress Commitments

While declaring their unconditional acceptance, they made it clear that they were prepared to work under Lord Wavell's leadership and that they were ready to co-operate with the British Government, even if the other parties did not do so. In view of all these commitments made by the Congress leaders, and in view of their unconditional acceptance of Lord Wavell's offer and their unconditional surrender to Lord Wavell, they cannot now turn round and blame the British Government.

The Congress leaders would have been entitled to throw the blame on the British Government if they had, at the outset, either exposed the hollowness of Lord Wavell's offer, or had, at least, pointed out that the Executive Council could not be formed on the lines indicated by Lord Wavell. The Congress leaders cannot even attack Lord Wavell personally for letting down the Congress at the last moment, because they have already praised his sincerity so loudly.

I have already said that behind Lord Wavell's offer there was a two-fold motive. The British Government has no doubt failed in its first motive—viz., to utilise the Indian leaders in exploiting India for the coming war in the Far East. But this failure is due not to the political sagacity of the Congress leaders, but to the stubbornness and intransigence of Mr. M. A. Jinnah. Whatever may be our own view regarding Pakistan, we must be thankful to Mr. Jinnah for being instrumental in wrecking the Simla Conference.

With regard to the second motive, viz., to make India a domestic issue of the British Empire, the British Government has not failed altogether. British propagandists have already started aggressive propaganda all over the world that the Indian problem does not represent a conflict between India and Britain—but between the Indian parties themselves. Judging from the echoes coming from different parts of the world, I must confess that British propaganda has already borne fruit.

Leaving the British Press alone, one finds that the press of the United States of America has taken the cue from British propagandists in commenting on the failure of the Simla Conference. Lord Wavell is being depicted as a sincere man and as a well-wisher of India—while the British offer is being described as generous. India's demand for complete independence has automatically receded into the background. For this unfortunate development, the members of the Congress Working Committee are entirely responsible.

I shall here quote a Damascus paper, "Alfeba," on the failure of the Simla Conference—which is typical of the general reaction in friendly and neutral countries.

"Damascus, July 15th: Commenting on the failure of the Simla Conference, the newspaper "Alfeba" writes today that India has lost an excellent opportunity presented with great generosity by Britain.

"If India henceforth continues to lament her fate, this will be due to her leaders, who bear heavy responsibility for the failure of the Simla talks, the paper adds.

"The stubborn attitude of the Indian leaders has lost for India the goodwill of the Big Three on the eve of their meeting at Potsdam."

British Triumph

From what I have said above, it follows that for those who are engaged in world-propaganda in support of India's independence, the task has become more difficult after the Simla Conference. It is also clear that out of the wreckage of the Simla Conference, the British Government has emerged with its moral prestige greatly enhanced. It is particularly unfortunate for us that such a development should take place on the eve of the Big Three Meeting in Potsdam. It will require hard labour and much effort on the part of Indians at home and abroad to bring the Indian issue before the bar of world-opinion again—just as it was prior to the Simla Conference.

Let us now turn to the Muslim League. There is no doubt that the Muslim League has not lost anything by attending the Simla Conference, but has gained much. What the Muslim League has gained, has been due to three factors—firstly, Mr. Jinnah's skill in diplomacy—secondly, the folly of the Congress leaders, and thirdly, the British Government's secret sympathy for the Muslim League.

As a politician, Mr. Jinnah has shown outstanding sagacity and foresight. He attended the Simla Conference, but did not make any commitment about accepting Lord Wavell's offer. He conducted himself with dignity and reserve throughout the negotiations. His stubbornness and intransigence, which are sometimes necessary in political bargaining, should be an object-lesson to the members of the Congress Working Committee. All in all, Mr. Jinnah showed himself that he was a strong man, who knew his own mind and had a resolute purpose. What a contrast with some of our other volatile, chatter-box politicians!

That Mr. Jinnah has emerged out of the Simla Conference with enhanced prestige has been due also to the short-sightedness of the Congress leaders. It is because the Congress leaders now look small as politicians that Mr. Jinnah appears great, by contrast. There is no doubt that if the Congress leaders had played the part that was expected of them, they would have towered head and shoulders above Mr. Jinnah and would have dominated the scene completely, throwing Mr. Jinnah into the shade. In 1942, when Sir Stafford Cripps was in India, that was the position, because the Congress leaders were then so strong. At that time Mr. Jinnah waited to see what the Congress would do. And when the Congress notified its rejection of Sir Stafford Cripps' offer, Mr. Jinnah also did the same.

Congress Deceived

The British Government, too, has contributed to the enhancement of Mr. Jinnah's prestige. For instance, if the British Government had adopted a firm attitude and if Lord Wavell had proceeded to form his Executive Council without the Muslim League, then Mr. Jinnah and his colleagues would have gradually faded into insignificance. Evidently, this is what the Congress leaders expected Lord Wavell to do. But they were so bamboozled by Lord Wavell that they forgot completely, for the time being, the fundamental basis of Britain's policy in India since 1906. That policy is to back the Muslim League against the Congress, under all circumstances.

If the Congress leaders had not allowed themselves to be fooled by Lord Wavell, they would not have been so jubilant and enthusiastic over his offer, they would not have accepted Lord Wavell's leadership and they would not have offered unconditional co-operation to him.

While the Congress leaders were completely misjudging Lord Wavell and were building castles in the air, Mr. Jinnah was standing on "terra firma." Either he had secret information, or his political instinct told him, that if he stood out, the Simla Conference would end in a fiasco. If Mr. Jinnah had thought that Lord Wavell would proceed with his plans even without the Muslim League, I doubt what he would have ultimately decided. And, like a realistic politician, because he did not want to take any risks, Mr. Jinnah remained in Simla and attended the Conference till the end, to see what the upshot would be.

(To be continued tomorrow)

ENGAGEMENT

DASARATHARAJ—YASODHA

The engagement is announced between C. R. Dasaratharaj of 12, Orchard Road, Syonan and Yasodha, second daughter of Mr. G. Raju of Norin-Ka, Kuala Lumpur. The marriage will take place shortly.

Br. Troops "Tolerated But Not Welcomed"

Zurich, July 17 (Domei)—The 'Red Star' mouthpiece of the Soviet Army, today denied the charge made by Richard Dimbleby, B.B.C. correspondent, that the entry of British troops into Berlin was "toleraed but not welcomed" by the Russians, according to a Moscow dispatch.

The journal admitted, however, that there were "some real but not invented problems," such as that connected with the disarmament of Germany, which are a source of dissatisfaction to the Russians.

The 'Red Star,' in this connection, charged that German troops in Schleswig had not surrendered all their arms and that the Germans in Norway also had not completely disarmed and were living on a higher standard than the Norwegians.

The Soviet journal also declared that in the American zone of occupation in Germany, "some Germans are receiving permission to spread Nazi propaganda."

Harry Truman Appeals For More Rail Workers

Lisbon, July 17 (Domei)—Declaring that a grave shortage of manpower threatens to delay the shipment of war supplies to the Pacific, American President Harry Truman, in an appeal from Potsdam, venue of the "Big Three" talks, has called on all American citizens who can do so to apply for work on railways in the Western part of the United States, according to a Washington despatch today.

The American President said that these railways need 65,000 men at once and "need them badly." He asked those already on these railways to stick to their jobs.

Enemy Admits Loss Of 291 B-29's In Nippon

Lisbon, July 17 (Domei)—An Official Washington dispatch received here today admitted that 291 Mariana-based B-29 aircraft so far have been lost in raids against the Nippon Mainland.

KingLeopoldCan'tResume Constitutional Functions

Lisbon, July 17 (Domei)—Owing to the Belgian King's consistent refusal to agree to demands for his abdication, the Belgian Chamber of Deputies tonight decided by a vote of 98 to six that King Leopold cannot resume his constitutional functions until both Houses of Parliament declared that he is no longer in a position which makes it impossible for him to reign, according to a Reuter dispatch from Brussels. Thirty-two members abstained from voting.

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